

One of the Strongest Bulwarks of Capitalism Against Socialism is the American Federation of Labor.

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Members of Executive Board

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An Awakening at Buffalo

Wage workers of Buffalo have had a long mental sleep, notwithstanding the fact that there are many slave pens here, and that it is a city looked upon as a paradise for manufacturers, owing to the possibility of securing cheap labor. The working men and women have been so busy selling their hides, they have not had enough vigor left to properly size up the situation and come to an understanding that there is a way to lift themselves out of some, if not all, the bondage that has been infinitely worse than any chattel slavery ever was.

But, now, things are taking a turn. There has come an awakening and something is doing to prove that there is enough manhood and womanhood left for breaking away and establishing a new era for wage-slaves of the Bison City.

For the past three weeks an unwanted activity has been going on in I. W. W. circles, and a few determined spirits swore that there should be new life breathed into the organization which could and would mean better conditions for all wage workers here. The enclosed card will explain the call that was made to the workers of the George N. Pierce Automobile Plant, to come out and hear about Industrial Unionism. This is the plant which has the George N. Pierce Benevolent Employee Association, a form of insurance which employees are expected to pay for and which is mostly "benevolent" to the capitalistic class—as usual.

The call for a mass meeting was responded to by a goodly number from the above named plant, and the seven plain and unadorned explanations of what Industrial Unionism means to the wage workers, and what Craft Unionism does not mean, were listened with great interest. Everything was carried out in the most simple and fraternal manner, without effort at oratorical display or soaring away on the wings of fancy or rhetoric. After the several speakers had made plain the facts that workers could own the tools of production; could become independent beings instead of commodities to be sold in the cheapest market; all the other good and true things Industrial Unionism teaches, preaches, and best of all can prove; then, applications were passed out to be filled in by all who wished to join the I. W. W. There were eleven applications for membership, with a liberal promise for more at the next meeting, which is to be held for the same industry next Tuesday evening. Among the eleven who came into the fold, were four S. P. men, who were very strong converts to the principles of the I. W. W.

At the last regular meeting of the local here, eight new members were brought in by one hard working and faithful I. W. W. man. All of this points to the fact that Buffalo is about to cast off the nightmare of bondage, and awake to the real sense that the working man, so largely in the majority, can and must fight his own battles and that he can surely win out if he will stand upon the foundation of Industrial Unionism and not let fakirs and pie-eaters exploit him and create him an unwilling philanthropist to feed the rich, while he, himself, is half starved.

To the women of the country, a word is said: Do not believe if your husbands, fathers and men folk in general, run you, yourselves, have a "good paying job" today, you are safe from the economic dangers that all must suffer under. The "good paying job" may be here today, but tomorrow it may be a thing of the past, if the employer sees fit to put in a cheaper hand to do the work he is now paying what he considers "too much" for. As long as the capitalistic class is in power, there is no safety for any wage worker in this world. All are standing over the crater of a volcano which may drown them in the lava of the master-class' greed. And so, women as well as men, be up and doing. Let all stand shoulder to shoulder, and remember that when the right principles are behind a movement, it cannot fail.

From this time forth, Buffalo is not going to be the place that manufacturers will seek as the Mecca of their hopes to skin, bleed, insult and starve wage workers. The hands of good and true men and women have been joined in a circle, which will never open except to be enlarged and enlarged, until it has been completed from Maine to the farthest ends of the earth.

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES," and at last, it is bound to have its own. Organize, Unite and Fight!

RHOA M. BROOKS.

Buffalo, April 10, 1907.

Industrial Workers of the World
Headquarters—310 Bush Temple,
Chicago, Ill.

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 8.

CHICAGO, APRIL 20, 1907.

50c. a Year.

Portland Strike Off

Organizer Heslewood and the committee in charge of the Portland mill strike, have about settled up matters connected with the struggle. The strike has been called off, but the mill owners are unable to operate their mills, owing to the fact that most of the strikers secured work elsewhere. The mills could not run one shift successfully so long as the strike ban was on them. From the standpoint of Industrial Unionism, the strike has been a great success. Thousands of men have been educated and the organization greatly strengthened. The mill owners failed in every attempt to implicate the organizers in a conspiracy. As an indication of the substantial success for Industrial Unionism, it may be mentioned that the Portland locals have, while the strike was on, sent over \$300 to general headquarters for supplies of all descriptions. Locals of the Western Federation of Miners contributed to the strikers over \$1,000, while other locals responded liberally, so that at no time was there any lack of funds. A complete statement of the financial side of the strike is being prepared for *The Bulletin*.

Across the Border

A good I. W. W. meeting was held at Hamilton, Ont., on Sunday afternoon, March 31, where the principles of the A. F. of L. were shown to be a fallacy in as far as being applicable to present day conditions caused by the development of the tools of production and the centralization and trustsification of industry into fewer hands, while the vast majority of the workers were left unorganized by the so-called American Federation of Labor.

Industrial Unionism was shown to be the proper, up-to-date weapon with which to fight the battles of the wealth producers in their daily class struggle with their exploiters and finally to emancipate them from wage slavery.

The tactics of this A. F. of L. against the workers organized under the banner of class unionism was compared to the tactics of the black handites of Russia who, calling themselves the union of Russian people, fog and shoot every member of the revolutionary movement and attempt to perpetuate despotism in Russia, while the A. F. of L. in America, under the name of Labor, organize "unions" to help the capitalist class defeat the attempts of the workers in bettering their condition, as in Youngstown, Ohio; Schenectady, N. Y.; Showhegan, Maine; Goldfield, Nev., and Portland, Ore.

Craft unionism was shown to be for the capitalist class and wage-slavery.

Industrial Unionism was shown to be for the working class and the abolition of wage-slavery.

A good collection was taken up and a charter will be applied for at once.

Roadhouse and Gordon were summoned by the police for violating one of their laws, but in the "court of justice" this morning we beat them.

Meetings will be held every Sunday until the workers are aroused to the fact that there is now an organization fit and able to meet the master class and eventually lick them to a standstill.

R. ROADHOUSE.

What Does it Mean?

For the information of Industrial Unionists and other readers of this paper, we print below a resolution fathered by F. Unterman in a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. We shall be glad to hear from anyone who can tell what it means.

"The economic and political organizations of the working class are the natural and necessary outcome of capitalist concentration. The form of the economic organization is determined by the form of production, the form of political organization of states and federations of states, and the economic and political labor organizations are dependent for a successful promotion of their present and final aims upon the economic and political conditions in proportion as the economic and political conditions are changed by technical transformation, social, economic and political organizations of the working class are compelled to face new problems and adapt themselves to new requirements. In the course of such adaptation, difference of opinion concerning the form of organization among the working class will necessarily arise among the organized workers and lead temporarily to the formation of antagonistic factions or to the splitting of existing organizations. The progress of capitalist development naturally tends to increase the antagonisms between already existing factions. But the progress of capitalist development naturally tends to unite the working class in closer touch with the Socialist Party, which represents political economy advanced by the efforts of the working class and organized laborers."

"So far as the members of the Socialist Party are able to exert any influence, they should endeavor to spread the understanding that every Socialist should, if possible, join the union, and that the union should be open to all, and for the adoption of that form of economic organization, which shall be considered to be the most suitable and best adapted to the prevailing industrial conditions, and as best calculated to unite a majority of the working class in the struggle for the complete emancipation of all working people from class rule and wage slavery."

The Paragon to the Plutocrat

"October 1, 1904.—My Dear Mr. Harriman: A suggestion has come to me in a round-about way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do.

"If you think THERE IS ANY DANGER OF YOUR VISIT TO ME MAKING TROUBLE, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or any matter in which I COULD AID, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then, a few weeks hence, BEFORE I WRITE MY MESSAGE, I shall get you to COME DOWN TO DISCUSS CERTAIN GOVERNMENT MATTERS not connected with the campaign. With great regards, sincerely yours,

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Roosevelt Takes a Hand

Listen, you men of the I. W. W., even the "great strenuousness," Teddy the First, has taken notice of us in the Sheehan State. Roosevelt and Gompers have come forth to save Goldfield, Nevada. From whom? From honest workingmen who have organized to protect themselves from the encroachment of their exploiters. Gompers has sent his man Friday, Grant Hamilton by name, and this worthy is at his old trade organizing scabs by threats substantiated and carried out by the Citizens' Alliance to intimidate members of the I. W. W. or Local No. 220 to withdraw and join the A. F. of L. This Grant Hamilton has a record. He is well known in Denver and Colorado. He was expelled from the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Assembly of Denver. After supporting a co-operative store on the floor, he visited the local unions to oppose the proposition.

He was the one who was sent to the Cripple Creek district to organize the scabs in the A. F. of L. by invitation of the mine owners' association. In short, he is the confidence man of Gompers and in partnership with J. D. Pierce, is doing all the nefarious work of the capitalist class in the name of organized labor.

Seven-and-a-half per cent of the business men of Goldfield have locked out the members of No. 220. They shut down their places of business and told their help to join the A. F. of L. or there would be no work for them. Grant Hamilton organized all those that obeyed the orders of their masters. One staunch lady member of No. 220, Mrs. Elizabeth Alley by name, and employed at the post office: she always wore her button in a conspicuous place, so our "law and order" people tried to get the postmaster to discharge her, but he would not do it, as she was giving entire satisfaction and he claimed she was the best worker in the office.

But our worthy citizens were not to be crossed by a petty postmaster. They petitioned the "strenuous" itself and down came the big stick and deprived the woman of making a living. A message, signed by Pres. Roosevelt, ordered the postmaster to discharge Mrs. Alley. She was told to quit the I. W. W. and join the A. F. of L. or quit her position. She informed him that the job was not good enough to stand between her and the I. W. W.

Fellow workingmen, the fight is on against the working class union; the capitalist class know that after the working class is organized an organization like the I. W. W. their end is near. They are going to ring the bells of death, and "law and order" people tried to get the postmaster to discharge her, but he would not do it, as she was giving entire satisfaction and he claimed she was the best worker in the office.

The latter in his life time sold large tracts of land to this corporation. It is probably from that fact that rumor connects his name with the disclosures said to have been made before the grand jury.

John Kinkaid, a former Denver lawyer, has been arrested at Denver growing out of the grand jury discharge.

Burner also connects Kinkaid's name with Steubenberg in public land transaction. It is said that Steubenberg owed Kinkaid a large sum of money at the time of his death which Steubenberg had refused to pay.

On Thursday last J. F. Nugent, one of local counsel for Moyer and Haywood, received an anonymous note through the mail that excites his curiosity, although he places no particular stress upon it. It is written in capital letters to prevent the writer being identified, but purports to be written by one of the federal grand juries.

The note follows:

"If you will look into the grand jury investigation you will find why and who killed Frank Steubenberg. Treat this as confidential.

(Signed) JURYMAN."

Preston-Smith Defense Fund

The following contributions have been received at General Headquarters for the defense of Fellow Workers Preston and Smith, of Goldfield, Nevada:

Section Vancouver, B. C. Socialist Labor Party	\$25.00
P. J. Kirby, Chicago	1.00
W. E. Trautmann, Chicago	2.00
A. S. Edwards, Chicago	2.00
Otoe Just, Chicago	2.00
Total	\$50.00

Five Thousand Protest

A meeting of the Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone protest committee of Detroit, with 5,000 workingmen in 32 organizations represented, was held at Colombo Hall, April 10, 1907. The following resolutions were adopted and ordered to be sent to the President of the United States and the press, viz.:

Whereas, President Roosevelt, to the course of a political controversy, has seen fit to refer to Haywood and Moyer as though they were convicted felons; instead of which they are innocent men forcibly deprived of the fundamental rights of citizenship; this having been accomplished by kidnapping on the part of the Governors of Idaho and Colorado; and

Whereas, These innocent men have expressed their opinion that the President's insinuation has exerted a great influence over the public against these prisoners; therefore it is

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the workingmen of Detroit in meeting assembled, condemn this violent and uncalled-for outbreak on the part of the president and demand a retraction of the same.

GUSTAV DIENIEK,
President.
HENRY KUMMERFELD,
Secretary.

Declares for Industrial Unionism

The editor of the Graham County Advocate, published at Clifton, Arizona, was asked if his paper proposed to enunciate revolutionary doctrine. We quote the essence of his reply:

"The Advocate upholds the political principles of Socialism and the economic principles of industrial unionism, and both of these are pledged to fight for the complete overthrow of capitalism and the control of the avenues of production by the people in a revolution. This will necessarily involve a revolution, therefore we are revolutionary. It may be that the working class of this country will have to contend for the mastery on a hundred battlefields, but that will ultimately triumph we do not for a moment doubt."

Roumanian Workingmen

The letter which follows, addressed to General Secretary Trautmann, will interest Industrial Unionists everywhere. It contains information of great value regarding workers employed in the steel and iron industries:

"Two or three days after the Second Annual Convention adjourned I paid you a short visit in the temporary headquarters. It was sent to me two hours before my leaving Chicago, where I went to attend the convention. Although my intention was to see you, I would have left Chicago without doing so, on the ground that you were busy with matters of vital importance to our organization. Being, however, urged by some friends, I went to headquarters and had a short talk with you. My subject was the foreign laborers in the steel and iron industries. You asked me to write you as soon as I got back to St. Louis, but in view of the fact that headquarters had such an arduous task before itself I kept postponing until now, when a few of my fellow workers made me promise to put the case before you.

Now the case is this: About ten months ago some hardy Industrial Workers (M. & M. Dept.) residing in Madison (Madison Venice, Granite) across the river came to St. Louis to tell me that in their districts there are employed in the foundries, car shops, etc., thousands of my fellow countrymen, and that they show a most remarkable willingness to organize in a form of organization like ours. Those comrades told me also that they were looking for me to assist them, as they knew that I could speak their language.

This was a surprise to me as I knew that outside of persecuted Jews, very few of the others leave Roumania, and that the Jews can be easily reached by Jewish literature on the one hand, and on the other the (the Jews) soon pick up enough of English as to understand and be understood. Therefore, I concluded that they are not Jews. How ever, I soon made out what that "Roumanian" element was made of. In fact there are by far more Roumanians than in that country proper, Ressarabia, which politically is Russia, has been part of Roumania, and now while under the Czar's government, they are still Roumanians as far as language, etc., goes. The same is true of the Austrian province Bucovina, the Hungarian province of Transylvania, the Turkish province Macedonia, etc., so that, very few natives of Roumania proper come to America, yet a large portion of what is designated in popular language as the "undesirable class of immigrants" is speaking the Roumanian language. Still, I did not think much of it as I know by experience that the Americans as a rule make no distinction between the many nationalities inhabiting South-Central and Southeast of Europe. A good example of this I find in the stenographic report of the last convention, Resolution 30, p. 193. The resolution resolves that literature be printed in the Macedonian language, when, as a matter of fact, there is no such a thing, as Macedonian is inhabited by Roumanians, Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Turks, each of

them in about equal number. The Americans call them all Huns, or Polaks or Greeks, or Austrians.

But, for all that, I promised to go and assist them as much as I could. The following Sunday I and Comrade Ruth of Granite went to work and put in about eight hours. Visited several boarding houses and spoke to perhaps 200 Roumanians and others. I would be unable to tell what I learned in those few hours spent amongst them. I was convinced, however, that the I. W. W. was organized on purpose for them. These despised wage slaves without any organization in opposition to the so-called labor unions were conducting strikes in a wonderful manner. The Commonwealth Steel & Foundry Co. was but once tied up and that was done by said undesirables. But their typical strikes are somewhat in the following fashion: One morning 50, 100 or 200 of them come to work as usual but refuse to work. They stand in groups and discuss any and everything. The bosses would come to them, trying to make them work. They would tell the bosses that they want a raise or something else, but would not even ask the bosses for an answer. They'd leave the shop and come back the next morning to do the same thing as the previous day. In a few days if they don't gain their point they would suddenly go back to work, work a day or two and stop again. No agreements to bind them; no leaders to sell them out; no committees to be blacklisted or discharged.

As I said they have no organization. This, however, is not considered by them as a virtue. They realize the necessity of organization. However, they were always treated with contempt by "organized labor."

I will give an instance: In one of the shops at a certain kind of work, the American laborers have a union affiliated with A. F. of L. In that shop they work together with non-union men. These non-union men, these foreigners, tried to get in said unions, but were not admitted, as they only accept "white people," as they would say. The union had an agreement with the company for a certain length of time, and the wage of \$1.75. One fine morning the foreign workers ceased work. They wanted \$2 per day. In a couple of hours they got the \$2. Not so the union men; they stood like men by the agreement and worked for \$1.75 when the despised "undesirables" got the \$2 for the same kind of work, in the same shop. A couple of weeks later, by the same procedure, the wages of the non-unionists was raised to \$2.25, while our "free born" had to stick to the \$1.75 and the agreement.

JOSER WAGNER.

Thompson at Jamestown

Organizer J. P. Thompson, who is now at Jamestown, N. Y., is meeting with his usual success in spreading the principles of Industrial Unionism and organizing the workers. A local paper speaks of the results of his work:

"There was a very large attendance at the meeting of the Furniture Workers' Industrial Union Tuesday evening in Carlson's Hall. The union was only organized last week, yet it has nearly 125 members. At the meeting last evening there were 35 applications received and 25 were initiated. A committee was appointed to look for a hall to hold meetings every week. On Friday evening, April 12th, there will be held a big mass meeting of metal workers with the intention of organizing a Metal Workers' Union in this city."

Be on the Lookout

I. W. W. men everywhere are being sought on the lookout for Sec'y-Treas. C. W. Moore, who skipped with the funds of Ouray Miners' Union. Full description of him in "Miners' Magazine." Address any information of him to president Ouray Miners' Union, Ouray, Colorado.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

Mixed Local No. 270, I. W. W., Houston, Tex., wishes to warn all locals against J. R. Robinson, whom they found it necessary to expel from membership for appropriating money belonging to the local. He has now left the city for parts unknown. This same Robinson has a trick of posing as a friend of the working class and a "revolutionary" of the most radical kind, said to easily deceive those who are not acquainted with his true character; aside from being a petty pilferer, he made himself generally obnoxious to those who had befriended him and was at last found to be a detriment, instead of a benefit, to the cause of labor.

By order of the local.

New Charters Issued

Three new local charters issued during the week bring the total number of new local unions organized since the convention up to eighty-seven. That's going some for the "doughnut proletarian mob," eh?

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Industrial Union Bulletin
PUBLISHED BY THE
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Published Weekly at
310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Yearly Subscription 50 Cents
Six Months 25 Cents
In Bundles (per 100) One Dollar



Application made at Chicago Post Office for entry as Second Class Matter.

Chicago, April 20, 1907.

Our Representative at the Trial

May 9th. This is the date, after nearly fifteen months' imprisonment, that has been set for the trials in the Mine Owners' conspiracy to railroad Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to the gallows. The importance of this trial is keenly appreciated by Industrial Unionists, who have from the beginning been among the most active in arousing working class protests against the outrage. Realizing the absorbing interest the workers have in the progress and outcome of the trial, and wishing to give our readers first-hand reports of the proceedings, so far as we can, arrangements have been made with Fellow-worker Wade R. Parks to represent THE BULLETIN on the ground and make weekly reports direct to this paper.

Fellow-worker Parks is familiar with the case from the time of the arrests, February 18, 1906, and has followed the developments up to the present time. He will reach the scene of the trial the latter part of this month and readers of THE BULLETIN may expect to hear from him in the issue of May 4.

Wm. D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, will first be tried, separate trials having been agreed upon.

EVEN THIS WON'T STOP US

As soon as the first edition of the Industrial Union Bulletin was printed application was filed with the Postoffice Department for second-class entry. Pending the granting of second-class privileges, we were required, as all publishers are, to deposit with the postmaster at Chago an amount sufficient to cover the number of copies delivered at the post office each week at the rate of one cent each. This we have done, awaiting the decision of the department on our application. Six weeks are usually required by the department to investigate and determine the claims of an applicant. We looked for the decision last week and we got it, in the form of a call to meet a postoffice inspector at the Chicago office. The inspector informed us that the second-class entry was about to be granted when there was received at Washington a protest against the entry from the attorney of Sherman and Hanneemann, the head and the tail of the reactionists who claim to be burdened with a consuming desire to serve the working class.

The inspector was satisfied as to all our claims, and the entry would undoubtedly have been granted but for the "protest." As a result of this action on the part of the allies of our enemies some time will yet pass before we are able to make The Volkszeitung (Impostor) type, in the Socialist camp. Still our progress is scarcely impeded and our ultimate victory is sure.

HATCHING ANOTHER CONSPIRACY?

In spite of the disposition of the capitalist newspapers to suppress any information that might be prejudicial to the interests of the conspirators in the Moyer-Haywood case, there have at various times been outcroppings of a nature that involved many of the mine workers' enemies in the land fraud cases which have been partially brought into the light in the West. It seems now to be a question of little doubt that among those involved is Wm. E. Borah, recently elected United States senator from Idaho, as a republican. His election as senator is understood to have been in recognition of his services to capitalist interests in the attempt of the latter to crush all organized resistance on the part of the workers to their domination. Borah is reported to have been admitted as one of the results of the administration's order for the relentless prosecution of all parties connected with the land frauds.

Borah is one of the principal attorneys for the mining gang in the case of Wm. D. Haywood, which opened at Boise, Idaho, March 1. He is reported to have been attorney for several years for the very lumber companies that sent into Idaho the claim-jumpers who caused the murder for which Steve Adams is held.

There is a fear in some cantankerous quarters that the reported indictment of Borah, if true, will result in quashing the indictments against Haywood and his associates. On the face of the current reports it clearly appears that if

ment thinks has been established will vanish again, because it could only be brought about by denying the workers right to organize in a way that satisfied their conception of a real working-class organization. Every such conflict, where men and women are forced from their means of obtaining a livelihood because they will not abandon the right to organize as they desire, and are coerced into a form of organization which they condemn, only serves to increase the number of those who see through the flimsy contortions of capitalists and labor fakers that the interests of capital and labor are identical. And today there are more revolutionary unionists in Goldfield than ever before in its short history. Silent they may be; but their silence is ominous, for it portends the unity of the working class that is coming to challenge the economic mastery of the united capitalist class. The labor question at Goldfield is not settled.

THE NEW YORK "IMPOSTOR"

The exposure of the stupid and mendacious character of the Volkszeitung, an alleged Socialist paper published at New York, is the climax to the hypocrisy and double-dealing of the past year, and especially of the period since the convention of last September, towards the Industrial Workers of the World. That the parties who are responsible for the constant flood of slush that pours through that medium of "socialist" propaganda are free to print misrepresentations so gross and vile, is proof enough of the low moral level and dishonesty of their supporters. The spectacle of a journal reputed to be one of the pillars of "strength" of the Socialist movement in America resorting to journalism of the gutter, as the Volkszeitung does when it falsely puts into the mouth of Wm. D. Haywood sentiments that he never uttered, is one of the logical outgrowths of Socialist subservience to the A. F. of L. and the Western Federation of Miners, and is responsible for the grand jury's work. What happened in Washington after this information was received is not known, but not more than a week ago one of the high officials of the federal court in Boise telegraphed President Roosevelt that no indictments against any one connected with the Haywood trial would be announced until after the trial was concluded.

But the hypocrites and working-class impostors may as well understand now as at any time that their machinations will not prevail against the Industrial Workers of the World. Their organization depends for its future, for its growing power as a class-conscious body of workingmen, upon the adherence of no individual; however prominent any individual may be, his prominence does not necessarily make him desirable as a member of a revolutionary working-class organization, such as the I. W. W. is and is recognized by the capitalist class to be. The workers are in the saddle, although here and there some body who nurses a "grouch" may not think so; the members are supreme, and while it is desirable to reinforce the organization, the reinforcements must come from those who whole-heartedly approve our principles and stand squarely for our purposes. We have not made, nor are we making, any claims as to the attitude of Wm. D. Haywood toward the Industrial Workers of the World. We have too high a regard for the man, and we realize too keenly the hazardous position he is now in to do anything of that kind. But this much we will say: Haywood is a revolutionary industrial unionist today as he was in the first convention, when he said: "The aims and objects of this organization should be to put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to capitalist ownership." The American Federation of Labor, which pretends to be the labor movement of this country, is not a working class movement. It does not represent the working class."

The aim and object of the Industrial Workers of the World IS to "put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life." At no time since the first convention adjourned, except during that brief period when Industrial Unionists who understood the revolution were locked in bitter struggle with the reactionary and disruptive faction that sought only to control the organization, has there been any halt in the forward movement for a real working-class organization. There is no power that can stop us now. The swing of events is toward our goal. Ours has been the greatest triumph over forces antagonistic to the truest interests of labor ever known in the country. Our enemies in the capitalist camp have been few in comparison with our enemies, of the living Volkszeitung (Impostor) type, in the Socialist camp. Still our progress is scarcely impeded and our ultimate victory is sure.

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Borah and others have been indicted, there is to be no positive information given out for fear that the disclosure would help the men now in prison whom President Roosevelt has adjudged guilty in advance of a trial.

On April 15, the Chicago Tribune printed the following special dispatch from Boise:

"While it is said positively that United States Senator W. E. Borah has been indicted by the federal grand jury, presumably on a charge of conspiracy to defraud the government, he has not been arrested, nor has the indictment been returned. The delay, it is said, will continue until after the trial of William D. Haywood, secretary and treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, for the alleged murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg."

"Facts have been ascertained which explain the cause for delay in making the arrest of Senator Borah and others indicted with him. Senator Borah had demanded of Attorney General Bonaparte that evidence given before the grand jury be reviewed by the department of justice before papers are served on him, and agents of the government are now on their way to Washington with evidence. Until Mr. Bonaparte personally has investigated the evidence there probably will be no further developments in the case.

"The attention of the national administration was directed to the land fraud investigation here two weeks ago, the charge being made that it was being conducted unfairly, that those against whom the investigation was directed were victims of a political plot, and the Western Federation of Miners was responsible for the grand jury's work. What happened in Washington after this information was received is not known, but not more than a week ago one of the high officials of the federal court in Boise telegraphed President Roosevelt that no indictments against any one connected with the Haywood trial would be announced until after the trial was concluded."

But the hypocrites and working-class impostors may as well understand now as at any time that their machinations will not prevail against the Industrial Workers of the World. Their organization depends for its future, for its growing power as a class-conscious body of workingmen, upon the adherence of no individual; however prominent any individual may be, his prominence does not necessarily make him desirable as a member of a revolutionary working-class organization, such as the I. W. W. is and is recognized by the capitalist class to be. The workers are in the saddle, although here and there some body who nurses a "grouch" may not think so; the members are supreme, and while it is desirable to reinforce the organization, the reinforcements must come from those who whole-heartedly approve our principles and stand squarely for our purposes. We have not made, nor are we making, any claims as to the attitude of Wm. D. Haywood toward the Industrial Workers of the World. We have too high a regard for the man, and we realize too keenly the hazardous position he is now in to do anything of that kind. But this much we will say: Haywood is a revolutionary industrial unionist today as he was in the first convention, when he said: "The aims and objects of this organization should be to put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to capitalist ownership." The American Federation of Labor, which pretends to be the labor movement of this country, is not a working class movement. It does not represent the working class."

If any additional evidence is necessary, to what we have repeatedly furnished, that the A. F. of L. is a scab-herding and scab-directing outfit, that was exhibited at the convention last September. Here is a clear illustration of editorial continuity: "There is no question but that the painted should serve his union; there is no question but that the carpenters and plumbers should have their separate union; there is no question but what the bridge and structural iron workers should have their union." To which we may add, there is no question about the muddle-headed condition of the writer of the above regarding what Industrial Unionism is.

This mean that we are to eschew parliamentary action altogether? No; parliamentarism is only mischievous if it is preceded by the revolutionary organization of the workers on the industrial field; it can only bring disaster and betrayal; but with such an organization existing, the Socialist delegates might enter parliament with real force behind them. The words they would utter there would no longer be the words of individuals, but would voice the demands of the millions of class-conscious workers, preparing and arming for the final struggle.

Parliamentary action of this kind would afford the only chance of a peaceful revolution, for when the capitalists recognized the organized, and disciplined strength of the working class on the industrial field, they might see that the game was up, and agree to accept the issue of the electoral struggle.

A working class vote, if it has not behind it the might of the revolutionary workers, organized to enforce their ballot by their industrial power, is just as effectual a political weapon as would be a hand of musicians on a modern battlefield with no fighting men to support them. Such a vote inspires the capitalists, not with terror, but with contempt. But, on the other hand, the Socialist ballot, backed by industrial might, may perhaps be the means of peacefully effecting the Social Revolution.

Of the third means of political action, armed insurrection, we must ask the same question, viz., is it efficient for the purpose in hand? Recent events in Russia tend to show the comparative powerlessness of untrained men, even though armed and inspired with desperate courage and enthusiasm, against the disciplined henchmen of capitalism, equipped as they are with every resource of science and civilization applied to the service of tyranny. There is little doubt, however, that armed force will play a part, though, in our opinion, an incidental and subordinate part, in the final phases of the great and prolonged struggle that will usher in the Socialist Republic. The revolutionary Socialist will use armed insurrection as and when it may prove an efficient weapon.

To sum up, there are three kinds of political action: (1) industrial, (2) parliamentary, (3) insurrectional.

The revolutionary Socialist gives the first place to industrial action, but recognizes the utility of the other two methods when rightly used. Not being obsessed by verbal formulae, he is ready to deal with new occasions when they arise, and welcomes any method that is really effective; he stands squarely face to face with the capitalist enemy all the time, and he will not tolerate in the camp of labor, any bargaining or parleying with that enemy. He does not, like the pure and simple parliamentary Socialist, begin with either sentimental vaporings at one end of the scale, or logic spinning at the other, and then end up by becoming a middle-class politician. He does not waste time in the needless discussion of abstract questions, such as, "Should Socialists Drink?" or, "Is Society an Organization?" when he should be organizing the working class, nor is he under the delusion that the capitalist class will be persuaded by votes alone into quietly surrendering their sway. On the other hand, he seeks to educate the workers in class-consciousness, and to organize them, thus with an invincible strength, moral and material, that may march to the overthrow of capitalist tyranny and the foundation of the Socialist Republic.—R. M. in Edinburgh Socialist.

But the capitalists control parliament, and through it, the state, because of their industrial supremacy. Their power arises from their ownership of the land, mines, factories, railways, and all other means of producing the necessities of life. They are, in fact, the masters of themselves after they have become supreme on the industrial field—that the capitalist class captured the political state, which until then, had been controlled by the feudal aristocracy. In like manner must the working class become strong enough on the industrial field to be able to stop or continue production in any or all industries at their

will before they can capture and destroy the political state.

But how can this be done? The capitalists acquired their ascendancy through the ownership of property, and the working class have no property. But the working class have this—it is they that actually carry out the operations of production, and by organization and discipline they can in every factory, mine, workshop, and railway become masters of their situation. Then, and not until then, will they be in position to capture the political state. Therefore, declare that first and foremost industrial political action is necessary, and for that purpose it advocates the formation of a revolutionary industrial union of the working class, in order that the workers, organized in a manner corresponding to the development of capitalism, united in industries, instead of broken up into obsolete craft divisions, and inspired with revolutionariness purpose, might, while organizations were still incomplete, force concessions from the capitalists in the workshops, and when the complete union is formed, take and hold for themselves the means of production.

Parliament, we have said, is the organ through which the capitalist class controls the state; but it must be clearly born in mind that their parliamentary power is the reflex of their industrial power, and that, while they maintain the latter, they will be masters of the State and parliament, even though a majority of voters are against them; for, if a Socialist vote appeared threatening they could either raise the franchise qualification, as they did a few years ago in Saxony, or shut up parliament altogether. Those "Socialists" or "Laborists" who advocate parliamentary action alone as being sufficient, are therefore grossly misleading the working class. In fact, pure and simple parliamentarism, wherever it has been practised, has in the main led to two disastrous results: (1) The "Socialist" or "Labor" party in question has fallen under the control of intellectuals such as lawyers and journalists who prove the ablest debaters in parliament; and (2) the "Socialist" or "Labor" "M. P."s when elected soon find that they have no real power whatever in the capitalist parliaments, because there is no organized force behind them, and so take to logrolling tactics.

If personally honest, they try to get some reforms through by bargaining with their supporters to one or other of the middle-class parties, while, openly dishonest, like Burns or McLean, sell themselves outright for cash or office. Thus the lines of the class struggle become more and more obliterated, and a short time the "Socialist" or "Labor" deputies or M. P.'s become quite indistinguishable from other "honorable" members.

Does this mean that we are to eschew parliamentary action altogether? No; parliamentarism is only mischievous if it is preceded by the revolutionary organization of the workers on the industrial field, it can only bring disaster and betrayal; but with such an organization existing, the Socialist delegates might enter parliament with real force behind them. The words they would utter there would no longer be the words of individuals, but would voice the demands of the millions of class-conscious workers, preparing and arming for the final struggle.

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WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS
Conducted by James P. Thompson

Lesson III. The Form of Value, or Exchange Value.

[Note: In the preface to the first edition of Capital, Marx says: "The value form, whose fully developed shape is the money form, is very elementary and simple. Nevertheless, the human mind has for more than 2,000 years sought in vain to get to the bottom of it; whilst, on the other hand, to the successful analysis of much more composite and complex forms, there has been at least an approximation. Why? Because the body, as an organic whole, is more easy to study than are the cells of that body. In the analysis of economic forms, moreover, neither microscopes nor chemical reagents are of use. The force of abstraction must replace both. In bourgeois society, the commodity form of the product of labor—or the value-form of the commodity—is the economic cell-form. To the superficial observer, the analysis of these forms seems to turn upon minutiae. It does in fact deal with minutiae, but they are of the same order as those dealt with in microscopic anatomy.]

Q. When does the value of a commodity appear in relative form?

A. "When it expresses its value in another commodity."

Q. When does a commodity officiate as equivalent, or appear in equivalent form?

A. "When it serves as the material in which the value of another commodity is expressed."

[Note: By doing this we shall, at the same time, solve the riddle presented by money.]

Q. What is the simplest value relation?

A. "That of one commodity to some other commodity of a different kind."

Q. What supplies us with the simplest expression of the value of a single commodity?

A. "The relation between the values of two commodities."

Q. Give an example of the elementary or accidental form of value?

A. "20 yards of linen cost, or 20 yards of woolen cloth cost 1 coat."

1. "The Two Poles of the Expression of Value: Relative Form, Equivalent Form."

[Note: "The whole mystery of the value form lies hidden in this elementary form. Its analysis, therefore, is our real difficulty. Here two different kinds of commodities (in our example the linen and the coat) evidently play two different parts. The linen expresses its value in the coat: the coat serves as the material in which the value is expressed. The former plays an active part, the latter a passive part."] [To be continued.]

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS
National Office: 310 Bush Temple, Chicago

Call for Referendum

A great international gathering of representatives of labor organizations world over will take place from August 18th to August 24th, 1907, in the city of Stuttgart, Germany.

The subject of Industrial Unionism (Syndicalism), will be given deep and epoch-making consideration. Labor representatives from Italy, France, Russia, Australia, and other lands will voice the demands of the toilers everywhere that the economic organization, aimed to be the superstructure of an "Industrial Commonwealth," is essentially the strongest instrument for the protection and advancement of the interests of the working class.

Parliamentarians and intellectuals will combat against the rising tide of Industrial Unionism, and the advocates of Industrial Unionism look to America for support in their propaganda of labor's international industrial program.

Misrepresented as the Industrial Workers of the World have been and are, by individuals and parties who would fain use the working class for the furtherance of their own selfish designs, the duty becomes imperative upon this organization to have its program made known throughout the world at this Stuttgart congress.

International relations between economic organizations of all lands can be established there and, in accordance with the program adopted at the last I. W. W. convention. The organized workers from Europe, Asia or any other continent will be organized to remain union men in America also, and help in the daily battles against the capitalist class, and strive with all others for a better day and a higher civilization.

The General Executive Board has decided that the I. W. W. shall be represented by a delegate, subject to an expression of the members by a referendum vote on this subject.

In pursuance with this action, a referendum is herewith ordered. All Industrial Unions and branches thereof should take this matter up at the next regular meeting, or a special meeting may be called.

The voting blank accompanying this call must be filled out properly by the canvassing committee of the union, and returned to headquarters, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., to arrive not later than June 1st, 1907.

In order to expedite matters, unions should also make nominations for delegates, so that one may be chosen in case a majority of members vote in favor of sending a delegate to the Stuttgart International Socialist and Labor Congress.

Trusting that all unions will take action on this referendum, we remain,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,

M. P. HAGGERTY,

General Secretaries, I. W. W.

By order of the General Executive Board.

Plain Answers
TO
Pertinent Questions

*Do not take up the editor's time with long articles; put your question in as few words as possible.

L. M.—The court in the injunction case found that the decisions of the convention as to the qualifications of its members and their right to vote was final and binding and could not be reviewed by the court. This sustained our contention. The convention decided on the qualifications of all delegates seated and their right to vote was determined solely by the convention itself. The lawyer for the reactionists (Stedman) did not know the facts in the case and consequently made statements that were contrary to the facts. He was ignorant of the most palpable truths in the case; and that was perhaps the reason for the "brain-storm" you refer to. That is, however, his normal mental state.

Address to Wage Workers

BY THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

SOLIDARITY OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM VS. DIVISION OF CRAFT UNIONISM.

It is a first principle of the Industrial Workers of the World that the workers shall be organized industrially—that is to say, the employees of any industry shall be organized into one union, as against the policy of craft unionism, whose plan of organization is to separate the workers of each industry into a large number of independent craft unions.

It is the purpose of the Industrial Workers of the World to unite and organize the entire working class throughout all industries into one unconquerable union, recognizing an injury to one as an injury to all; whereas it is the policy of craft unionism to organize each craft by itself, a method of organization which tears into jealous, quarreling fragments what should be the solidly united working class.

THE DIVIDED EMPLOYEES AGAINST THE UNITED EMPLOYERS.

The effects of craft organization are these: The mechanics organized in craft unions are taught to look upon themselves as an aristocratic body of men superior to the rest of the working class. They are jealous of their wages, and jealous of their jobs, out of which jealousies grow unending jurisdiction fights, etc., whereas, by Industrial Unionism, all these petty jealousies are wiped out as they ought to be and the whole working class unites in one solid phalanx against the oppression of the employers. So you can, by this time, easily understand that to be effective, the workers must organize as an Industrial Union. We can learn a lesson from the employers. During the telegraphers' strike just ended on the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railways, you saw the workers divided, a small portion were on strike, the rest were working for and supporting the companies. But you did not see the companies each divided in line party opposing and partly assisting the striking telegraphers. You saw those companies uniting all their energies and throwing their entire strength against the telegraphers so far as it could be brought to bear upon them; and when the telegraphers were beaten, the firemen, the switchmen, or other craft organizations go out on strike, the entire strength of the companies will be concentrated to fight them each in its turn. And so the workers should not leave each craft by itself to fight its own battles alone and be crushed, but when a fight is opened at any point, all the strength of all the workers in the industry must be centered and brought to bear upon that one point. And, just as the railway companies are backed in their fight by the other capitalists of the land, so the workers in every industry must be reinforced in their struggles by all the workers in all industries, organized solidly in the Industrial Workers of the World.

THE I. W. W. AND THE CONTRACT.

No contract shall ever be made by any division or part of the Industrial Workers of the World, with any employer, which will bind any workingman to work against the interests of any other wage-earner under any circumstances whatsoever.

CRAFT UNIONS AS "JOB TRUSTS."

The aims and aspirations of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor have never broadened to include the raising and improvement of the condition of the entire working class. Craft unionism has made of each union a mere "job trust." In fact, the leaders of craft unionism prefer to organize only the more highly skilled trades. When the trade is organized then the leaders consider that they have just a certain number of jobs for the men in their organization, and they immediately take measures intended to limit the supply of labor that is going to be available to fill those jobs. To that end they make the following provisions: No one can work at their trade unless he is in their union. No one can join their union unless he is a journeyman. No journeyman shall be allowed to join unless he pays an initiation fee, sometimes as high as \$500. Even members of the union are frequently charged an exorbitant amount for transfer of membership from one city to another. No one can learn their trade unless he becomes an apprentice when he is a young boy of a certain prescribed age, and then there shall only be one apprentice to 10, 12, or some other prescribed number of journeymen; a learner of the trade shall be considered an apprentice for four, five or some other fixed term of years, and during that time he shall give his services to the employer for very low wages—practically nothing. Thus these craft unions strive to limit the supply of labor available for the jobs they are striving to monopolize for themselves. Those leaders of craft unions never worry about the army of people that they annually turn away and keep out of their trade in order to keep their own wages up; those leaders never bother themselves to consider that that army of men is forced into the labor market of unmonopolized trades, forced to swell the host of applicants for the unmonopolized jobs, and thus forced to beat down the wages of the great body of the working class. These organizers of craft unions pay no heed to the fact that their unions are not labor organizations in fact; that, insofar as they protect the wages of their craft by limiting the supply of applicants for those jobs, they increase the supply of applicants for the unmonopolized jobs, and thus help to beat down their wages. Such unions, therefore, maintain their wages (if they maintain them at all), not at the expense of the employing class, but at the expense of the working class. But these leaders of craft organizations, as long as they can hold good jobs as union officers, don't seem to mind it. If their organizations are worthless from the standpoint of the whole working class; even if their organizations are, in fact, worse than worthless, because they set up an artificial aristocracy in the working class that helps to keep the rest of the workers down; even though this craft unionism does divide the workers and divides them into a number of bodies, each of which is, in its turn, crushed by the weight of all the rest, wielded against it by the employer; even though all these things are true, and they are true of the American Federation of Labor organizations, still those leaders will support that type of unionism because it gives them easy jobs and places them in a position to get the bribe and graft of the employers and politicians whenever the rank and file of those unions are destined to be used. Industrial Unionism is directly opposed to the organization of labor into "job trusts," which at best can only take a few of the workers in, and must keep the great mass of the workers out. The Industrial Workers of the World is organized not to beat out other workingmen, but to conquer concessions from the employers. The Industrial Workers of the World throw their doors wide open and invite all wage-earners, without any distinction whatever, to join and become members of the union of the workers in whatever industry they may be employed; and as often as a worker has occasion to change his employment, he will be transferred to whatever industry he may find now employing him.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND POLITICS.

Again, it has long been the experience of wage-earners that the entire government of the nation is used against the working class. How often have the police, the militia and the United States troops been hurled against men on strike? How well do we know that the entire time of Congress, the State legislatures and the city councils is taken up with providing laws for the capitalists, to protect their property and their privileges? And how frequently are the courts called upon to issue injunctions against wage-earners to force them to submit to their employers, in the name of some of those laws made by the legislative department of the government! The officers of all these departments of government, the Governor, the Legislator, the Judge, they are all political officers; and yet the upholders of craft unionism maintain that the organized workers should not concern themselves with politics. The Industrial Workers of the World recognize that all parties upholding the present system of society are controlled by the employers' class; that when any one of those parties is elected to office, the employers are enthroned in the power of government, and that, consequently, the workers must be politically nailed in a party of their own to dislodge the employers' agents now entrenched in the political strongholds of government.

SHALL PRODUCTION BE CONTROLLED BY THE CAPITALISTS OR BY THE WORKERS?

Finally, the American Federation of Labor teaches that our present system of society is a correct system. It is a foundation principle of this system of society that the means of production shall be privately owned, and it is further a foundation principle of this system of society that the owner of the means of production has the right to control, the right to manage the institutions he owns. Pure and simple craft unionism maintains that it is proper for the capitalists to own and manage the institutions of production which we, the workers, operate, and which our lives depend upon; and yet those craft unions are forced into the inconsistent position of levying strikes and boycotts to interfere with that management, to compel changes of hours, wages and other conditions established by that management which those same unions approve of. The Industrial Workers of the World adopts the true and consistent position. We deny the right of private individuals either to own or to manage the means of production and transportation, and we declare that the workers, the class that have built these institutions, ought of right to be the owners of them—that these social institutions should belong to society. We hold that the workers, who carry on the business of production, ought of right to manage the means of production. We are organized to bring pressure to bear to influence the management of industry just as far as possible for our own good under this system of capitalism; and finally to overthrow the social system and establish the collective ownership and collective control of mines, mills, factories, railroads and workshops of all kinds, thus finally to end forever our struggles with capital. The final purpose of the political organization of the workers will therefore become plain to you. By seeking to dislodge our exploiters from their entrenchment behind the arms of government, we shall help to promote that unification of our class which will enable us to take and hold, through our economic organization, that which we produce by our labor.

WHO ARE TO BE DISPENSED WITH?

Today the capitalists are having experiments made constantly, perfecting

Bulkey Wells' Mob

"Among the leaders of the mob were Bulkey Wells, manager of the Smuggler-Union mine, and John Herron, manager of the Tom Bow mine. ** Fifteen members of the mob accompanied the train to Ridgeway, where the prisoners (union miners) were ordered to get off, and further ordered never to return to Telluride."—Carroll D. Wright.

At the time of the late labor war in Colorado Governor Peabody, of unsavory memory, called upon President Roosevelt for federal troops to help the state militia that was helping the mine owners defeat the miners and destroy their union. The result was that President Roosevelt dispatched Carroll D. Wright, then national labor commissioner, to Colorado to investigate thoroughly and report fully on the situation in that state. The investigation was duly made and the report, a volume of 365 pages, has been issued by the government.

This report is filled with detailed accounts of the most terrible outrages perpetrated by the mine owners and their murderous minions upon perfectly innocent men, women and children, for no other reason than that they were in sympathy with the miners.

On page 200 is recited the revolting story, familiar to all who follow the progress of labor events, of the seizing of five miners, at Telluride, by thugs in the employ of the mine owners and the forcing of them into a horrid cesspool to shovel its contents into an excavation. This outrageous inhumanity of the alleged "authorities" upon wholly unoffending men, quite sufficient to provoke murder, was expected to serve as a lesson to miners to submit without protest to the iron rule as well as to the exploitation of their masters.

One of them, Harry Maki, a union miner, refused to work in the cesspool and was handcuffed by the thugs "in the service," and, at the command of the mine owners, was chained to a telephone pole on a public street. The report says that he was thus pilloried from 11:20 a. m. to 12:45 p. m.

An outrage so brutal as this would precipitate an armed revolt if workingmen were not the most patient and submissive creatures on earth.

Suppose five rich mine owners were seized by union miners and forced into a public privy vault and ordered to shovel out its contents simply to outrage their manhood, and that one of them talked and was then chained to a telephone pole in a public street, what would happen? The whole country would roar with rage, the press would thunder, the government, the soldiers, state and federal, would rush to the scene, and, from President Roosevelt to the last governor, the powers of government would be freely used to avenge the crime and punish its perpetrators. But, the victims being merely miners, the master is so trifling that it does not even cause a ripple on the surface.

When the criminals are capitalists and the victims wage slaves it is "law and order" in Colorado and Idaho.

All of our readers know, by name at least, A. H. Floaten, his wife formerly of Telluride, and E. F. Collins, Cal. Honest, kindly, whole-hearted, high-principled, superbly true in every personal and social relation, one would imagine these two white souls secure anywhere, but they were not immune against the beastly thugs who were doing the bidding of the Mine owners' association.

The Floatons were in business, and had the biggest store in Telluride. They sympathized with the honest, rugged miners, and the miners in turn loved and trusted them. This tells it all. Now read what follows, and if you have any doubt about this tale of horror procure Commissioner Wright's report to President Roosevelt and turn to page 201 and you will find the following:

"On the night of March 1, about 100 members of the Citizens' Alliance (?) held a meeting at Red Men's hall, after which they armed themselves, searched the town, and took into custody about 60 union men and sympathizers. In some instances the doors of residences were forced open. The men who were captured were brought to a vacant store and about 1:30 o'clock in the morning were marched to the depot and loaded into two coaches. As the train bearing them departed a fusillade of shots was fired into the air by the mob. About the leaders of the mob were Bulkey Wells, manager of the Smuggler-Union mine, and John Herron, manager of the Tom Bow mine. One of those deported was A. H. Floaten, manager of the People's Supply Company, the largest store in the town. The door of his residence was broken open and he was found partly undressed, his wife having retired. A revolver was presented at him and he was wounded in the head by being struck by the butt of the weapon. He was marched from home without being allowed to put on his shoes or hat. Fifteen members of the mob accompanied the train to Ridgeway, where the prisoners were ordered to get off, and further ordered never to return to Telluride. During the next few days a number of other union men were forced to leave Telluride."

Let it be known that Commissioner

Wright in his report repeatedly refers to these "law and order" capitalists as a "mob." This is the same mob that ruled under Peabody military law and under the mine owners' administration.

Another fact to note, with care is, that Bulkey Wells headed the mob. This is the same Bulkey Wells, adjutant general of Colorado, who was leader of the mob that kidnapped Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, them in irons and rushed them to Idaho, not

Bulkey Wells, the mine owner, not only supervised this kidnapping job, but, with a gang of his pals, put our comrades aboard the waiting special, took charge of the train and personally supervised the prisoners until they were safely lodged in the penitentiary dungeon in Idaho.

Connect these two incidents, and like two clouds charged with lightning they flash into light.

These two incidents coupled together pour a flood of light upon the kidnapping conspiracy. Bulkey Wells, the head of the "mob," as Carroll D. Wright calls it, that drove the miners out of Colorado, was also head of the mob that kidnapped Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from the same state.

Worse Than War

"Taking the lowest of our three estimates of industrial accidents, the total number of casualties suffered by our industrial army in one year is equal to the average annual casualties of our civil war, plus those of the Philippine war, plus those of the Russian and Japanese war."

"Think of our carrying on three such wars at the same time world without end!"

This is the rather startling way in which Dr. Josiah Strong, president of the American Institute of Social Service, emphasizes the fearful sacrifice of life to "Our Industrial Juggernaut."

Dr. Strong at the outset of his article in the North American Review calls attention to the fact that, while the railroad casualties attract a great deal of attention, they are only a small proportion of the casualties that take place in the industrial world.

"It is important to gain some idea of the great numbers who are annually sacrificed by accidents in our American industries," says Dr. Strong. "As compared with European governments, our state legislatures have generally been strangely indifferent to the whole subject. The laws of only eleven of our states require the reporting of accidents in factories; and a careful examination reveals but a single state whose laws require the reporting of accidents in all industries."

Working, however, from data derived from widely divergent sources, Dr. Strong shows the minimum number of industrial accidents in this country in a year must be considerably more than 50,000.

"When in all history," he asks, "have two great armies been able to inflict on each other a total of half a million casualties in a single year? This is 50 percent more than all the killed and wounded in the late war between Japan and Russia."

"There are more casualties on our railways in a single year than there were in both sides of the Boer war in three years."

"Last year on our railways we killed as many as thirty-seven days, and wounded as many as twenty twelve days, all our killed and wounded in the last encagements of the Philippine war. Or, in other words, there were twenty-four times as many casualties on our railways in one year as our army suffered in the Philippine war in three years and three months."

"At that rate we might have continued the war for seventy-eight years before equaling the record of our railways in a twelvemonth. And we must not forget that less than one-fifth of the losses of our industrial army are suffered on our railways. That is to say, we might carry on a half dozen Philippine wars for three-quarters of a century with no larger number of casualties than take place yearly in our peaceful industries."

"We are waging a perpetual war on humanity," says Dr. Strong, "and one which is apparently growing bloodier from year to year."

He quotes government statistics to show that on the railroads, to a given number of passengers, there were twice as many killed in 1905 as in 1895, and continues:

"Europe is far in advance of America in protecting workmen from needless accidents both by legislation and by safety appliances. The association of French Industrialists for the prevention of accidents, by reason of its varied and beneficial activities, was declared to be of 'public utility' as long as 1887. There was a general exposition of accident prevention in Germany in 1890. Immediately after its close there was organized in Vienna a museum of security and of industrial hygiene.

"There are now half a dozen such museums in Europe, one having been organized in Paris last December and formally opened by the president of the republic. Even backward Russia shamed by her museum of security at Moscow.

new machines and new methods in order to dispense with laborers, thus saving the product of the institutions of production more and more to themselves. The employers have progressed well along that line, and craft unionism stands powerless to prevent their further progress; but the Industrial Workers of the World are organizing unions which will teach the workers to handle every industry, so that—not that we may be dispensed with—but that we may dispense with the capitalist class, and save all the fruits of our toil to ourselves.

LABOR'S LAST CONTEST WITH CAPITAL.

The fights of labor against capital today present a peculiar spectacle. When the workers want to change some detail in the way the shop is managed (for the question of management, in some of its phases, is really the only question that ever arises between capital and labor), they call a strike and desert the shop. This kind of warfare must still be carried on for the present, but we should always bear in mind that the workers are thoroughly organized. In the final struggle (and the sooner we arrive at that stage the better), we shall adopt a different method. We shall not then run away from the field of the fight, we shall not abandon the shop, but in our orderly, organized strength, we shall take control of it. We must organize and train ourselves to that end.

CAPITALIST "PRINCIPLES" BASED ON CAPITALIST INTERESTS.

All the capitalists and their papers and defenders will say our principles are wrong and bad, but we refuse to be influenced by any judgment from the capitalists' standpoint. We know that always, in passing their judgment upon any action of labor, they are guided by a consideration of their own class interest only, without any solicitude for our welfare.

cov. Austria has had a score of exhibitions of safety appliances for the education of the people.

Governments and public-spirited citizens have vied with each other in providing funds for such institutions. Here the greatest of all industrial peoples have attempted little legislation and nothing to organize efforts.

"In view of these facts it is not strange that in the same industries (railroading and mining), of a given number of men employed we kill and injure from two to nine times as many as they do in Europe.

"This industrial slaughter is utter waste—wasted resources, wasted anguish, wasted life. And although the greater part of this sacrifice is as needless as it is useless, it goes yearly in year after year. The price of our selfish indifference is never paid.

"It is well to end the barbarities of war. Is it not time to place some limit to the barbarities of peace?"

One Hell of a World

A poor old man takes morphine. Acquaintances go from drug store to drug store asking for a doctor. Who will guarantee the money?" was the inevitable question.

Finally one doctor arrived after much delay.

Injected something; said several things were needed, but made no attempt to get them.

Poor old man, lying stretched out on a table dying.

Finally doctor said if the man could be taken to a hospital his life might be saved, but that he (the doctor) must go. Couldn't afford to do charity work. Couldn't stop long enough to save a man's life!

Asked how much he wanted, said \$25.

The poor old man was a printer—a union printer. Another union printer standing by pulled the \$25 out of his pocket and the doctor got busy.

Poor old man dying, with doctors all around refusing to help until the coin was handed out.

This certainly is "One Hell of a World."

Based on Class Struggle

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the working class; foster the idea of harmony of interests between the employing exploiter and the employed worker. They permit the association of misleaders of the workers with the capitalistic leaders in the Civic Federation, where plans are laid to further enslave the workers.

The craft union seeks to establish its own petty supremacy. Craft division is fatal to class unity.

The Industrial Workers is based on scientific principles, and therefore of

Slowhegan Strike Settled

A dispatch to general headquarters announces that the strike against the Marston Woolen Mills at Slowhegan, Maine, has been settled. Particulars of the final outcome of the long struggle will be published next week.

fers nothing impossible. Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement, and such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdictional struggles which seem only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

The Industrial Workers of the World is composed of one great industrial union, embracing all industries. It provides for craft autonomy locally, and industrial autonomy internationally, and a working class generally.

It is based on the class struggle, and its general administration is conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It does not endorse any political party, nor does it ask the endorsement of any political party. All its powers rest in the collective membership. It has one universal label, and only one enemy—the labor skinner. It has one initiation fee, and one button, and that don't mean "I won't work" but "I will work." Provided I can get enough to live decently, it accepts cards from any bona fide labor organization in the world, free gratis, as transfers, provided they are paid up in their former union.—Fred W. Fleckwood.

A Fable

A rich man owned a piece of land on which a mule was grazing.

"I shall put you in harness," said the man to the mule, "that you may plough this land, so that I may grow thereon melons, of which I am very fond. The stalks will suffice you for food."

The mule answered him as follows:—"If I complied with your offer, you would have all the melons, while I should be worse off than I am now, because I should have dry stalks to eat, whereas now I have fresh grass. I won't do it."

"How shameless you are," said the rich man. "Your father never had any other food but thistles, and he worked sixteen hours and even more per day without grumbling."

"I'm sorry to say that's true," responded the mule; "but you know too well my father was a donkey."—M. Fleckwood.

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